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Toil only gives the soul to shine,
And makes rest fragrant and benign ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
Worth being poor to hold in fee.

“ Both, heirs to some six feet of sod,
Are equal in the earth at last ;
Both, children of the same dear God,
Prove title to your heirship vast
By record of a well-filled past ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
Well worth a life to hold in fee.”

We have endeavoured to do justice to the merits of this young and gifted poet, while we have pointed out, with perfect candor, the faults that still inhere in his poetical manner, and the dangerous influences to which his poetical genius is exposed. That he will soar above the spirit of *coteries* ; that he will reject the bad taste of cultivating singularities in thought and expression, and descend from the clouds of vague philosophy and Utopian reforms ; that he will brace his mind with strengthening knowledge in science, history, and social life ; and that he will thus create a noble sphere for the exercise of his fine powers, and give additional lustre to a name already crowned with the honors of professional, literary, and mercantile eminence ; is what we not only hope, but, in the faith of achievements already performed, confidently predict and believe.

ART. III. — *Report of the Land Agent of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, laid before the Legislature, January 10th, 1844.* By GEORGE W. COFFIN. 8vo. pp. 12.

In a former number of this Journal,* we devoted some attention to the forest trees of America, and took a passing notice of the lumberer ; † we propose, now, to give a brief

* *N. A. Review*, Number XCV.

† The necessity of introducing new words into a language grows out of the changes effected from time to time in the circumstances and pursuits of men. The use of the word *lumber* and its derivatives is peculiar to this

historical account of the forest lands of Maine, and to make a remark or two upon the timber trade of the United States generally.

Whoever is familiar with the narratives of the early voyagers to New England, will not need to be reminded of their glowing descriptions of the forests which everywhere encompassed their steps in this country. Gosnold was the first Englishman who came directly across the ocean to New England, and in the several records of his adventures on our "stern and rock-bound coast," where "the woods against a stormy sky, Their giant branches tossed," we are struck with the apt and pithy words that are used to express his admiration of the hills and meadows hedged round with stately groves. Thus, the country is "full of goodly woods," say Archer and Brereton, in their accounts of Gosnold's voyage; while in the tracts appended to Brereton, it is declared, that the trees will afford "tar, pitch, rosin, and turpentine, and soap-ashes, and will make masts for the greatest ships of the world," and "excellent timber of cedar, and boards for curious building." So, too, says the chronicler, there are kinds of wood fit "to be turned into small boxes for ladies and gentlemen." Waymouth, who came to New England in 1605, three years after Gosnold, saw "trees very great and tall," and the fir, "out of which issueth turpentine in so marvellous plenty, and so sweet, as our chirurgeon and others affirmed they never saw so good in England." Smith, the father of Virginia, who followed nine years after Waymouth, declares, that between Penobscot and Cape Cod, there were "more than two hundred isles, overgrown with good timber of divers sorts of wood;" that from Penobscot to Sagadahock,* were mountains and huge rocks covered "with all sorts of excellent

continent; but the peculiarities of the articles of trade and of the occupations which they denote are so marked, and the use of them is now so general here, that it would be a proof of affectation and folly, and an injury to the perspicuity of discourse, scrupulously to avoid and reject them. The "forester" or "woodman" of England is a very different person from the "lumberer" of Maine, and the latter ought, therefore, to possess a distinctive title. "Timber" is here applied only to the trunks of trees, and the beams and large joists which are formed from them; while "lumber" is the generic term, including not only all the kinds of timber, but the boards, shingles, clapboards, and other articles of trade manufactured from it.

* The Kennebec.

materials for building houses, boats, barques or ships," and immense trees to make "pitch, tar, masts, and yards," and "such beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich as may well recompense thy daily labor with a captain's pay."

The opinions of Christopher Levett, who built for himself a habitation in Maine in 1623 or 1624, who had been the king's wood-ward or forest officer for Somersetshire, and who, of course, looked upon the trees of "Aquamenticus," "Cape Porpas," and "Cape Manwagan," with a professional eye, are entitled to more consideration than those of any person who had preceded him in visiting the New World. We learn, that he landed at the Isles of Shoals, where — and at the moment of his arrival — he almost contemptuously remarks, that he did not "see one good timber tree." Proceeding easterly, it seems that his ideas of the country were formed with surprising accuracy, when it is considered, that he could not have penetrated far into the unbroken wilderness, but must have confined his explorations, principally, to the sea-coasts and the shores of the rivers. "I dare be bold to say," he reports to Buckingham, Surrey, and the other noblemen under whose commission he acted, "there may be ships as convenient there as in any place in the world, where I have been, and better cheap. As for crooked timber, and all other sorts whatsoever can be desired for such purpose, the world cannot afford better. Masts and yards of all sizes, there be also trees growing, whereof pitch, and tar is made;" and again, that "there is also much excellent timber for joiners and coopers; howsoever a worthy nobleman hath been abused, who sent over some to make pipe-staves; who, either for want of skill or industry, did no good. Yet I dare say no place in England can afford better timber for pipe-staves, than four several places which I have seen in that country."

Levett's general views of Maine, to which part of the country his observations in America were entirely confined, are, in the main, so accurate, that we cannot forbear annexing them to the quotations already made. They occur in his "Directions for all private persons that intend to go into New England to plant."

"That is a country," he quaintly says, "where none can live except he either labor himself, or be able to keep others to

labor for him. If a man have a wife and many small children, not to come there, except for every three loiterers, he have one worker ; which if he have, he may make a shift to live, and not starve. *If a man have but as many good laborers as loiterers, he shall live much better there than in any place I know.* If all be laborers, and no children, then let him not fear, but to do more good there in seven years than in England in twenty. Let as many plant (settle) together as may be, for you will find that very comfortable, profitable, and secure."

To the settlers who are now wending their way to the Aroostook, part of this compendious advice will be as useful as was the whole to those to whom it was addressed, more than two centuries ago. The territory of Maine has not had a good name ; but surely, that cannot be a bad soil from which to obtain subsistence, that will allow of one "loiterer" to every "laborer" ; and we may tell such as persist in their reproachful talk, as Levett told the cavillers of his day, "let wisdom judge ; for my desire is, that the saddle may be set on the right horse, and the ass be rid, and the knave punished either for discouraging or encouraging too much, whosoever he be." Her "coast be rocky, and thus affrightable," said Smith ; "but there is no kingdom," he justly added, "so fertile that hath not some part barren."

The forests which drew forth the high praises that are here quoted, have been the source of much dispute and litigation. Though the questions of grants and titles occupy hundreds of pages of documentary history and court records, we shall endeavour to convey to our readers, in a short space, some of their most important results and conclusions. Of the immense domains, embracing almost the half of our continent, which, in 1620, King James conferred upon those gentlemen of his court who, in popular language, are known as the "Council of Plymouth," Maine formed a part. Among the most distinguished members of this Council was Sir Ferdinando Gorges ; to whom, and to John Mason, the Council, two years after the date of their own patent, conveyed all the lands and "fishings" between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadahoc. Subsequently, and rapidly, other grants covered the same soil, and angry and endless contentions followed. But Gorges, bent on leaving his name in our annals, obtained of Charles the First a grant for himself, individually, of the territory be-

tween the Piscataqua and Sagadahock, and thence from the sea one hundred and twenty miles northward. These were the ancient limits of the "Province of Maine." Having now a sort of double title, Gorges might reasonably hope, that his rights were perfect, and that he might pursue his plans without interruption. But Massachusetts, on the one hand, insisted that her boundaries were narrowed by the grants to Mason and himself; while the Council, on the other, with inexcusable carelessness or dishonesty, continued to alienate the very soil which he held both from themselves and their common master. Thus he was harassed his life long, and went to his grave old and worn out with perplexities and the political sufferings and losses of a most troubled period. He was a soldier, and the tried friend of the Stuarts in their times of need — of which their reigns were full — and was plundered and imprisoned in their wars. He set his hopes of princely power and fortune on enterprises for the colonization of America, and as "Lord Palatine" of Maine, wasted many of his best years and a vast sum in endeavours for its settlement; but not one of his purposes was accomplished either for himself or his lineage. After his death, his son deemed his possessions in Maine of little or no worth, and took no pains to retain them, or to carry out his designs; and his grandson, to whom his right descended, gave to Massachusetts a full assignment and release for the insignificant consideration of twelve hundred and fifty pounds sterling; a sum less than one sixteenth of the amount which had been actually expended.

By the purchase from Ferdinando Gorges the younger, Massachusetts acquired only a part of Maine, as now constituted. France made pretensions to all the part lying east of the Penobscot, and the Duke of York to the part between the Penobscot and the Kennebec; nor was it until the reign of William and Mary, that disputes about boundaries were merged, and the St. Croix and Piscataqua became the acknowledged charter frontiers.

As already observed, the Council of Plymouth had trespassed upon the rights of Gorges, their own oldest grantee; and to ascertain and quiet the pretensions of the subsequent grantees, their heirs, and the claimants under them, was a task which Massachusetts could not shun, but which

she could hardly perform. Ruinous suits ensued, and titles to persons in possession, adverse to the claims of Massachusetts, were at length established for about two millions of acres. The principal grants thus held to be valid in themselves, or to which claims were relinquished, were as follows ; * That to Richard Vines and Thomas Oldham, of a tract on the west side of the Saco, from the sea eight miles up the river, and four miles wide ; † that of a tract of similar extent to Thomas Lewis and another person, on the east side of the same river ; ‡ that to Thomas Cammock, of five thousand acres at Black Point ; § that to John Dy, John Smith, and others, of a tract running from Cape Porpoise forty miles east, and forty miles into the country ; || that to the Plymouth Pilgrims, of fifteen miles on both sides of the Kennebec, without definite limits north and south ; ¶ that to Beauchamp and Leverett, of about thirty miles square on the west side of Penobscot River and Bay ; ** and that to Robert Alsworth and Giles Elbridge, of twelve thousand acres, and a hundred acres additional to each of the settlers whom they procured, at and in the vicinity of “ ancient Pemaquid.” ††

Besides the soil held under the Council's grants, the title to more than half a million of acres rests on Indian deeds. Of these titles, the oldest is that to Humphrey Chadbourne, of a considerable part of South Berwick, and that to one Boughton, of a part of Kittery. Of another part of the last named town, there was also a later conveyance to Thomas Spencer. On the Saco, two tracts depended on native covenants with Walter Philips, and four miles square within the limits of Lyman were alienated to Bush and Tarbell.

* It should be remarked, that in the grants here named, embracing, by a tolerably accurate calculation, 1,965,000 acres, some Indian titles which bordered on, or were intermixed with, those granted by the Council are included ; as are some others, that were given to claimants to make up ascertained or allowed deficiencies in these grants.

† Biddeford.

‡ Saco.

§ In Scarborough.

|| The “ Province of Lygonia.” This grant is in the towns of Falmouth, Westbrook, Cape Elizabeth, Kennebunk-Port, and the city of Portland.

¶ It was finally determined that Topsham and Woolwich should be regarded as south of the south line, and what are now Anson and Madison should be considered north of the north line.

** The “ Waldo Patent.” This tract passed into the hands of General Waldo, and a considerable part of it descended to General Knox, whose wife was the granddaughter of Waldo.

†† Parts of Bristol, Newcastle, and Nobleborough.

Under deeds from the same unquestionable proprietors, Francis Small acquired lands between the Great and Little Ossipee, and Small and Nicholas Shapleigh a part of Shapleigh. The most celebrated of all, however, is the "Pegypscot purchase," on the Androscoggin, the limits of which were as indefinite as they well could be ; from their vagueness grew contests which endured many years.* On the Kennebec, and along the sea-coast to Damariscotta, are still other lands which depend on Indian title, but each tract is small, and the aggregate is inconsiderable.

Of the French grants, which were many and extensive, covering much of the country between the Penobscot and the St. Croix, only one has been recognized, and that was considered valid more as a matter of favor than of right. It was confirmed by an act of Massachusetts, releasing about sixty thousand acres to the descendant of De la Motte Cadillac ; being all that remained unsold of a patent of Louis the Fourteenth, in 1691, to the ancestor of the claimant.† Within this last foothold of France, this relic of the proud Cadillac's seignior, is the grave of Father du Thut, herald of the pious Madame de Guercheville in spreading the Catholic faith, and the first victim of the long and bloody strife between France and England for the mastery of the Western hemisphere. Here, too, Winthrop and his associates first gazed upon the shores which they came to people ; and the "Mount Marsel," which showed America to them, is yet a land-mark of voyagers to and from the home of their fathers.

On acquiring Maine, as it was in 1677, the date of Gorges's quitclaim, Massachusetts gave its inhabitants privileges which hardly differed from those possessed by its own people ; and not the least important of these, in their estimation, was that which exempted from rents and exactions of all sorts, save assessments for defence, all the lands which they had obtained of Gorges, of Massachusetts herself, and of their respective agents ; and also, all the streams and mill-

* The towns of Brunswick, Topsham, and Harpswell are within the lines which Hutchinson and others claimed (under the original grantee), in 1715, when they petitioned to have their title confirmed and these townships created. They purchased the year before, of an insolvent estate, for £ 100.

† Embraced in these 60,000 acres, are the whole of Trenton, a part of Sullivan, Ellsworth, Hancock, Eden, and Mount Desert, and the islands in front of them out to the main sea.

sites that might be granted thereafter. The fears of the lumberers, at the time of which we are speaking, lest, in changing their political connexion, they should lose a part of their prescriptive or legal rights to the forest, may be seen, as well from this stipulation, as from the fact, that on the union of New Hampshire with the mother of New England, some forty years before, it was made a condition, that their former and accustomed liberty of selling timber should not be restricted.

This meagre outline of the controversies consequent upon carelessly drawn grants and deeds must suffice. But we cannot leave this part of our subject without commending the indomitable spirit evinced by Massachusetts in her struggles to root Gorges and the Cavaliers of his planting out of Maine, and to put in their place the humbler but purer Roundheads of her own kindred. Had she faltered, when dukes and lords signed parchments that conveyed away her soil ; had she not sought to push her sovereignty over men and territories not originally her own ; had she not broken down French seigniories and English feoffdoms,—Maine, east of Gorges's eastern boundary, might have continued a part of the British empire to this hour. This opinion is given considerably, and not to round out a period. And whoever will consult the diplomacy of 1783, will learn that, *even as it was*, the British Commissioners contended for *that* boundary to divide the thirteen States from the Colonies which had remained true to the crown.

Soon after the purchase of Maine, Massachusetts lost her own charter ; and it was not among the least of the causes of Charles's anger against her, that she had bargained with Gorges's heir, and thwarted his design of procuring Maine for his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth. It throws light upon the feelings and transactions of the times, to mention here, that among the measures devised to keep back the threatened *quo warranto*, it was proposed to send the monarch "*two large masts aboard Capt. Peirce, thirty-four yards long, and the one thirty-six, and the other thirty-seven, inches diameter.*"

The new charter, procured of William and Mary, confirmed Massachusetts in her acquisitions east of the Piscataqua ; but it contained several restrictions which bore hard upon the interests under consideration. The most promi-

nent we shall briefly notice. And first, that instrument provided, that all pine trees, of the diameter of twenty-four inches at more than a foot from the ground, on lands not granted to private persons, should be reserved for masts for the royal navy ; and that, for cutting down any such tree without special leave, the offender should forfeit one hundred pounds sterling. This stipulation was the source of ceaseless disquiet, and it introduced, to guard the forests from depredation, an officer called the "Surveyor General of the King's woods." Between this functionary, who enjoyed a high salary, considerable perquisites, and great power, and the lumberers, there was no love. The officials of the day, who were now of royal appointment, and not, as under the old charter, elected by the people, generally ranged themselves on the side of the surveyors ; while the House, as commonly, opposed their doings, and countenanced the popular clamors against them. The first surveyor-general was John Bridges, or Bridger, who came with Lord Bellamont, in 1698 ; his jurisdiction embraced the King's woods in all New England. David Dunbar, a reduced colonel in the army, a man poor, proud, deeply in debt, and as rapacious as the fabled harpy, succeeded him in 1729. Dunbar was a scoundrel, and laid the foundation — wickedly, as we believe — of land quarrels in Maine, which lasted sixty years, and were hushed then only by legislative interference. He sold out his surveyorship to Governor Benning Wentworth, of New Hampshire, in 1743, for £ 2000. Wentworth had been a large dealer in lumber, and was now ruined, from a timber contract with an agent of the government of Spain. His nephew, Governor John Wentworth, was appointed to his place and emoluments in 1767, and, with the pomp and show of the dignitaries of by-gone days, traversed the country, from South Carolina — where he landed on coming from England — to his own home in New Hampshire, recording his commission in every Colony through which he passed.

We hear little of the course of conduct pursued by the Wentworths, though it is said, that Benning neglected his duty, and suffered his deputies to be remiss in theirs, and to "waste the King's timber." But it stands charged upon Bridges, that he connived at trespasses, and took hush-money. Against Dunbar, it is alleged that, attended with

armed men, he turned lumberers from their homes, seized their timber, burned their buildings, and threatened them with imprisonment. His ways and airs provoked the rough men whom he watched and thwarted quite as much as the losses which he caused them ; and he seldom went to a saw-mill to place the " King's mark " upon boards suspected or known to be made of interdicted trees, without quarrelling with the mill-men. Sometimes, threats of extreme violence passed on both sides ; and, in the forest, the "*loggers*" gave him "*swamp-law*" as often as they dared, or as his officious zeal aggravated them beyond endurance. " Kill me ; " said Paul Gerrish, " but mark or touch that pile, and you die yourself, here, and instantly ! " The craven Dunbar sneaked away. On another occasion, some lumberers, in the garb of Indians, stove the hull and cut and destroyed the sails and cordage of his boat, and beat his men most cruelly. Excitement ran high ; the Council was summoned, and a proclamation issued ; but the offenders so kept their secret, or had so many friends, that they were never discovered. We finish with Dunbar, by saying, that, in the early part of his career, the Governor of Massachusetts was solicited to remove him, though the act should require a military force.

As already remarked, the controversies introduced by the provision in the charter, intended to preserve spars for the royal navy, were not confined to the woods or the mills, but were carried to the halls of legislation, and even to the Board of Trade in England. There seemed, indeed, in the judgment of the Colonial governors, no way for them to please their royal master more, than by discoursing to the House of Representatives about the care they should exercise over " mast-trees," and about the severity with which the statute-book should provide against trespassers ; while the House, on the other hand, appeared to be best satisfied whenever they could manage to postpone, or get rid altogether of such unwelcome subjects. Prerogative and the popular sentiment never agreed. Discussions about forests again and again ended in wrangles. Friendships were broken up, and enmities created for life. This is emphatically true of Shute's administration, when Cooke, the Counsellor of Sagadahock, and the champion of the " fierce democracy," — as his father had been before him, — involved the whole government of the Colony in disputes, which, in the end, drove the Governor home to Eng-

land. And so, subsequently, a forged letter, probably written by trespassers or their friends, and transmitted to Sir Charles Wager, first lord of the Admiralty, charging Governor Belcher with conniving with trespassers, though seemingly aiding that "Irish dog of a Dunbar," did its intended work. Shirley, his successor, when he pressed upon the House the necessity of further enactments to protect the masts and spars for the royal navy, and to punish those who obstructed or annoyed the royal agents, was tartly told, in substance, by that body : "Our laws are sufficient ; we have done our duty ; let the crown officers do theirs." Hutchinson, for a like call upon the House, was in like manner reminded, in terms hardly more civil, that there were already charter and statute penalties for trespassers, a surveyor-general and deputies, and courts of law ; and that, provided with these, he must look to the pines "twenty-four inches in diameter, upwards of twelve inches from the ground," for himself. The means for dealing with offenders, it must be confessed, were ample ; the crown could try them in the Court of Admiralty, where there was no jury ; upon conviction for a common trespass, a fine of £ 100 could be imposed ; and for the additional misdeed of plundering the interdicted trees under a painted or disguised face, twenty lashes could be laid on the culprit's back ; while, more than all, convictions could be had upon probable guilt, unless the accused would, on oath, declare his innocence.

But there was no such thing as enforcing laws, when it was the popular impression, that the woods were "the gifts as well as the growth of nature" ; and that the king's claim to them was merely "nominal" at the most. The provision in the charter was unwise. To reserve to the crown a thousand times as many trees as it could ever require, and to allow all to decay that were not actually used, was absurd. A stipulation, that the wilderness should be under the care of the Colonial government, and that the government should furnish annually all the masts needed by the royal navy, would have been far better. But the charter, nevertheless, ought to have been respected, while the servants of the king maintained Colonial rights inviolate. As it was, we can easily imagine that the woodman, when rid, by the Revolution, of the presence of surveyor-generals and their deputies, exulted as heartily as did the peasant of France, when the outbreak

there abolished forest laws somewhat dissimilar, but equally obnoxious.

The troubles which we have enumerated, the disputes which grew out of the question, whether, as the territories purchased of Gorges had never reverted to the crown, the surveyor-general's duty did, in fact, require him to mark and protect the mast-trees within its limits, and especially the charter inhibition of grants east of the Kennebec without the king's consent, kept out settlers, held titles in suspense, and compelled most of the few occupants of the soil to earn their bread by getting and transporting lumber. As far down as 1719, no man of the Saxon race had a habitation from Georgetown to Annapolis. Fifteen years later, there were not more than nine thousand people of European origin between the Piscataqua and the St. Croix, and thence northerly to the dividing of the waters on the "highlands," where royalty last contended for the soil of Maine. In truth, not a grant was made beyond the Penobscot before the year 1762; and Machias, though the oldest town on the French claim, was not alienated by Massachusetts before 1770, and had no corporate existence until after the close of the Revolution. In 1790, there were but three resident clergymen from the last named river to the frontier.

We have seen, that Massachusetts never owned the entire face of Maine, but on the contrary, while her jurisdiction was extended from time to time, till it embraced the whole area, her title to the property of the soil was cumbered with ancient grants, patents, and Indian deeds, to the amount of about two and a half millions of acres. Between the date of the charter of William and Mary and the peace of 1783, Massachusetts herself disposed of one and one third millions more; so that, when she broke her Colonial bonds, nearly four millions of acres were in other hands. The creation of a land-office and the making of surveys, to bring into market her now entirely unincumbered domains, were among the first uses which she made of her newly acquired sovereignty. In debt, poor, distressed even, from the losses and sacrifices of a struggle, which she did more than any of her sister Colonies to bring on, and as much as any to carry forward to a successful issue, she looked to these domains for partial relief. Purchasers, however, came forward but slowly; and, in 1786, fifty townships between the Penob-

scot and St. Croix were proposed to be sold by lottery. These townships were represented by twenty-seven hundred and twenty tickets, at £ 60 each, payable partly in specie, and partly in evidences of the public debt. The plan did not succeed as they hoped, and only four hundred and thirty-seven tickets were sold, producing hardly one fifth of the sum that had been anticipated. By the year 1795, twelve years after the peace, Massachusetts had parted with more than three and a half millions of acres, or one hundred and fifty townships ; but of this quantity, a great part was absorbed by liberal grants to quiet settlers, remunerate public services and sufferings, and endow literary institutions. The aggregate of sales and grants from 1783 to 1820, was a little more than five and a half millions of acres ; of these, one and one tenth millions had been conveyed without pecuniary consideration. The entire sum of money which found its way into the treasury, from the recognition of American independence to the creation of Maine into a State, — a period of thirty-five years, — was but \$ 924,000. From that time to January of the present year, she received the additional amount of \$ 972,000, or \$ 1,896,000 in the whole. * At the separation, the quantity of land which remained ungranted and unsold, and which, by the terms of that event, was to be divided between the two States, appears, from the best *data* we can obtain, to have been full fourteen millions of acres.†

To discuss the policy which has been pursued by Maine and Massachusetts, since the period at which we have now arrived, would require a space which we cannot now afford.‡

* The statement for the first period is derived from statistics collected by the late Moses Greenleaf, Esq., and does not include interest on the notes given by purchasers who bought lands on credit. The amount of receipts from 1820 to 1844, we obtain from official sources.

† A Report of a Committee of the Legislature, in 1814, estimates a million more *then*. From 1814 to 1820, the aggregate of sales was not two hundred thousand acres, and the allowance of eight hundred thousand is sufficiently liberal.

‡ Since this was written, Mr. Coffin has kindly furnished us with the following synopsis of the operations of the Land Office of that State from 1820 to the close of 1843.

Number of acres of land sold since the separation of Maine from Massachusetts,	1,562,860
Number of acres granted to colleges, academies, and individuals,	510,546
Total number of acres alienated,	2,073,406

The subject might well form an article of itself. But before we proceed, we must record our dissent from the charge sometimes made, that the course of Massachusetts towards Maine, in the management of the lands, has been illiberal. Official documents disprove the imputation. Of the one and one tenth millions of acres given away, the colleges, academies, bridges, and sufferers of Maine received two thousand acres more than the half. In "An appeal to the people of Maine on the question of separation," a tract of some pretensions in its day, the selling of lands to "speculators," which, as the writer truly alleges, had been the practice, is reprobated; and a "liberal and enlightened" plan of procedure, which had "in vain been urged" upon the Commonwealth as then constituted, is shadowed forth. To this, we mourn while we reply, that the "speculators" in these *our* times, unlike those bred up in the past, left their accustomed walks in life and trusted their fortunes, and sometimes

Amount received for lands sold,		\$ 965,853 18
" " timber sold,		103,671 48
" " commutation of duties,		11,213 98
		<hr/>
		\$ 1,080,738 64
Amount paid for surveys, explorations, &c.,	\$ 38,871 58	
" " roads, clearing streams, &c.,	51,359 25	
" " current expenses of Land office,	28,977 85	
	<hr/>	
	\$ 119,208 68	
Deduct amount paid from treasury for warrants,	10,683 60	
		<hr/>
		108,525 08
Balance, net, paid into the Treasury,		<hr/>
		\$ 972,213 56

Mr. Coffin gives a statement, also, of the average prices received for lands, from which it appears, that the average from January, 1785, to February, 1820, was 20½ cents per acre; from 1820 to 1826, 14½ cents; from 1827 to 1829, 44½ cents; and, for the subsequent years, as follows;

1831,	30 cents.	1836,	\$ 2-09½.	1840,	\$ 1-52½.
1832,	27½ "	1837,	0-74.	1841,	1-31½.
1833,	58½ "	1838,	2-21.	1842,	1-62½.
1834,	79½ "	1839,	2-21.	1843,	1-32½.
1835,	\$ 2-12½.				

Of the variations in price, he remarks, that they are owing to "the fact of there being, in some years, a larger quantity of valuable lands sold, and other years of inferior" quality. Further, that from "the excessive demand for lands in 1835 and 1836, and during the sales down to 1840," the price "was augmented beyond their intrinsic value;" and that, since that period, "the sales have approached their true" worth.

their morals, on the throw for a township. And besides, speculations, though usually retarding settlements, are less pernicious at some periods than at others. Lands deemed unfit for culture, as were those of Maine, may be in the hands of any body with little harm, until the prevalent opinion of their value changes. Usher, whom Massachusetts employed to bargain with Gorges for a province, was a great land dealer on his own account ; but he and all of his generation coveted pine trees, not the ground on which they grew. Coram — who, after his return to England, founded the Foundling Hospital of London — and his associates did, indeed, look to tillage ; but their mad scheme was for a vast joint stock company, to raise enough of flax and hemp for all the royal navy.

Waldo exclaimed, “ Here is my bound,” and dropped dead on the site of a city.* The leaden plate that Pownall placed there to mark the spot, was buried in soil which men abandoned in search of farms on the Miami, years after the opening of the present century. Gardiner, a loyalist of our Revolution, whose hundred thousand acres on the Kennebec were confiscated and sold, but restored to his heirs, hardly knew, that men would ever buy and sell these acres for wheat fields and orchards. And when Bingham bought “ the two millions,” although men began to learn that they could live by the plough within the bounds of Gorges’s patent, few would attempt cultivation east of it ; and probably none foresaw, that the valley of the St. Croix was destined to produce the finest potatoes and other vegetable roots in the whole Union.

Narrow views existed elsewhere. When Macomb acquired more than three millions of acres in New York, for a price scarcely equal to seven cents the acre, his clamorous and disappointed opponents failed in the attempt to press through the legislature a resolution condemnatory of the sale. And why ? These lands were scarcely thought of for husbandry, and Clinton’s plan of bringing the waters of Lake Erie to the Hudson was ridiculed and scouted full twenty years afterwards. Nor is this all. Monarchies favor

* Within or opposite Bangor, then the hunting grounds of savages. The “ Waldo Patent ” perpetuates his name. He used the exact words quoted in the text, supposing that he stood on a limit of his grant. Governor Pownall and a considerable party of armed men were with him.

great landed estates ; the nearer we go back, therefore, to the era of colonial submission, the less should we wonder at the prevalence of large patent rights, or the desire for them. The greatest names in our history belong to men who sought to own or control large tracts of country ; and Franklin tasked his powers to the utmost to answer the minister who opposed a large grant on the Ohio.* Mason, Lee, and Mercer were men dear to Virginia, and Washington is dear to the world ; and they all stand in our annals connected, more or less, with immense land projects. We are to judge the great operations in land of the past by what existed in the past, rather than by the changed wants, circumstances, and opinions of the present times.

Although all the New England colonies derived wealth from their forests, none of them, we think, pursued the trade in lumber for the same ends, or with the same results, as Maine. In the one case, to cut off the trees was to open lands to husbandry ; but in the other, the "hewers of wood" continued in the same hopeless bondage to axes and saws, generation after generation, and almost from century to century. The fathers of Plymouth shipped off clapboards within three years of their coming. The first notorious pilferer in "the Massachusetts" was a lumber thief, and though he was not exactly hanged, he was doomed to give up all his estate to those whom he had plundered, to be whipped, to be bound to service for three years, and to be at the disposal of the court at the expiration of his bondage. Almost the first conflagration at Plymouth that we read of, was that of a house "made all of clap-boards." This branch of industry advanced so rapidly, that a trade was opened between the northern Colonies and the West Indies as early as 1641 ; and in a tract called "New England's First Fruits," published in London two years afterwards, "clapboards, hoops, pipe-staves, and masts" are enumerated among the staple commodities which "fetch money from other parts." But the forests in some parts of the country soon gave out ; and so much alarm was felt, and Plymouth Colony became so "straitened for building-timber," that within half a century after the landing, certain kinds of lumber were not al-

* Mr. Sparks thinks, that Franklin's reply to Lord Hillsborough "is one of the ablest efforts of his pen." *Franklin's Works*, Vol. IV. p. 233.

lowed to be exported, except conditionally. In New Hampshire, however, the trade in timber was prosecuted with great zeal, during a great part of the period which intervened between the first and last hours of submission to the crown. Taxes were paid in boards and staves, at certain rates ; and parcels of the different kinds of marketable wood, at one time, passed from man to man almost as currently as the king's coin, or the pine-tree shilling pieces of the old Commonwealth.

The action of parliament with regard to taxing lumber, admitting it free, or even encouraging its exportation by bounties, was eagerly watched. The mother country pursued all these courses at different times, and gave satisfaction, or created discontent, among the dealers in the article, as changes occurred in her policy ; just as she does now, with those Colonial possessions which yet remain to her. Boston was the great mart, and the centre to which the proceeds of all mercantile operations tended. Besides the extensive business done there in shipments of lumber to the West Indies and Europe, much timber was used for the building of vessels for sale in the ports of England. Thus, there were in Boston, at one time, no less than twenty-seven shipyards ; at one of which twelve vessels were built, and from all of which sixty were launched in a single year. The Colonial merchants of the days of which we are speaking, like those of the present Colonies, suffered immense losses on ships built and sent to England on their account ; such "remittances" selling at prices less than cost, by twenty, and even forty, *per cent.*, during the seasons of commercial depression, or an overstocked market.

The "mast ships" at the North, like the "tobacco ships" at the South, were the common, and oftentimes the only, means for crossing the ocean ; and royal governors and other high personages were occasionally compelled to embark in them. In these clumsy, ill-shapen vessels, also, went ladies and lovers to visit friends and see sights in that distant land, which some Americans yet call "home." Merchandise, fashions, and the last novel had a slow voyage back ; but men and maidens were models of patience, and the arrival of the eleven weeks "master" gave as much joy when all was safe, as does that of the eleven days steamer now. In port, while loading, the "mast ships were objects

of interest, and their decks and cabins the scenes of hilarity and mirth. We hear of illuminations, and firings of cannon, of frolics and feasts. They brought news of victories achieved by British arms, of some peace concluded, or some act repealed which bore hard upon Colonial industry, or hurt Colonial pride. When ready for sea, if enemies of the crown hovered on the coast, vessels of war were ready to give them safe convoy ; and the days of departures were seasons of excitement, busy preparation, and sad leave-taking.

The mast trade was confined to England ; and the transportation of spars thither, and of the sawed and shaved woods required by the planter, to islands in the West Indies possessed by the British crown, were about the only lawful modes of exporting lumber for a long period. By the statute book, the king's mark was as much to be dreaded by the mariner and the owner of the vessel, as by the " logger " and the " mill-man." But the revenue officers caused less fear than the surveyors of the woods, until fleets and armies were employed to aid them ; when the interdicted trade with the French and Spanish islands was nearly, if not entirely, broken up. No enactments of the mother country operated to keep down Northern industry so effectually, poorly as they were obeyed, as the navigation and trade laws ; and on none did they bear more severely than upon that portion of the people whose position or necessities left them no choice of employments. There were some — nor were they few — who were obliged to work up trees into marketable shapes, or starve. Included with these were the inhabitants of the coast, the mariners, and the fishermen. The interests of all these classes were identical ; and to them, the maritime policy of the government was cruel in the extreme ; since it robbed unremitting toil of half of its reward. Lumber and fish were inseparable companions in every adventure to the Caribbean sea. Enterprises to get either were hazardous, at the best ; and, as practical men can readily perceive, all who engaged in obtaining them were obliged then, as they are now, to seek different markets ; so that, to shut some marts, when access to all would barely remunerate the adventurers, was, in effect, to close the whole. These employments were among the most difficult and severe in the whole round of human pursuits ; and attempts to alleviate the burdens of

oppressive parliamentary legislation upon both were made in Massachusetts, long before a whisper of discontent was elsewhere uttered in America. To the discussions on the one, we have already attended ; a notice of the other does not come within our present purpose. These discussions had taken fast hold of the public mind, and when Otis at length spoke out, thousands, who never heard or read his reasonings, and might not have felt their force, if they had, were ready, at the first call, to clear the woods, and docks, and warehouses of the "swarms of officers" who "harassed" them, and "eat out their substance." England lost the affection of the North full a generation before she alienated the South. Free labor—inexcusable in this—began with sacking houses, overturning public offices, and emptying tar barrels and pillow cases upon the heads of its victims ; and when the skill and high intellect which were enlisted in its cause, and which vainly strove to moderate its excesses, failed to obtain a peaceable redress of the wrong, and were driven either to abandon the object, or to combine and wield the strength of those who were engaged in pursuing it, these men rallied upon the field, and embarked upon the sea, to retire from neither until the very frame-work of the Colonial system was torn away. To say, as some do, that points of "abstract liberty" severed the British empire, is to babble like modern politicians. "Abstractions," indeed ! Which of the twenty-nine acts of parliament touched so much as the "southwest side of a hair" of an "abstraction" ? These acts inhibited "labor." They forbade the use of water-falls, the erecting of machinery, of looms and spindles, and the working of wool and iron ; they set the king's arrow upon trees that rotted in the forest ; they shut out markets for boards and fish, and seized sugar and molasses, and the vessels in which these articles were carried ; and they defined the limitless ocean as but a narrow pathway to such of the lands that it embraced, as wore the British flag. The revolution was created to release labor from these restrictions. And yet the favorers of "abstractions" ask—nay, insist—that labor shall resume its broken bonds !

Such are the opinions, at least, that we have formed on the questions upon which, among the mass of the people, the contest hinged ; which finally united persons of every avocation in life in an endeavour to get rid of prohibitions,

that remonstrance could not repeal, or even humanize. There are two or three incidents, which, as they illustrate the remarks just made, and belong to our subject, we cannot forbear to mention. They show, that, though almost too remote and scattered for union and concert, the woodmen were not laggards in the irregular strifes with which the war commenced.

A gentleman of Boston, whose wife and daughter were at Machias among their friends, obtained leave of Admiral Graves, soon after the affair at Lexington, to visit them, and also to carry such supplies as might be needed at that distant settlement, on condition of returning with his vessel to Boston, — then in possession of the royal troops, and deeply distressed for fuel, — with a load of wood and lumber. But he was to be accompanied by the British schooner *Margranetto*, armed with four light guns, and fourteen swivels, and under command of midshipman Moir, a kinsman of the Admiral. The passage was safely made, and the lumberers, after consultation, and in view of their necessities, agreed that the lading of articles promised for the King's troops might be permitted ; but the boldest among them determined, also, that the *Margranetto** should become their prize. Embarking in a coaster and a sloop, and arming themselves with such weapons as were within reach, among which were the tools of their calling, they proceeded on their perilous enterprise. A sharp conflict ensued ; Moir received a mortal wound, and about twenty others of both parties were killed or wounded. But success crowned the attempt ; the victors received the thanks of the Provincial Congress, and commissions to cruise and capture under their authority. This brilliant little affair gave much joy, and was, undoubtedly, " the Lexington of the seas," or first naval action, that occurred in the struggle for freedom.

In the autumn of the same year, Falmouth, the great mast and timber mart of Maine, was laid in ashes ; and, singularly enough, its destruction grew out of matters directly

* Cooper says "Margaretta." He relates the affair at some length, and though his account differs in some particulars from that derived from inhabitants of Machias, it may still be correct. He says of it, that it was " the first blow struck on the water, after the war of the American Revolution had actually commenced," — thus fully sustaining the remarks in the text ; indeed, the words " Lexington of the seas " are quoted from him.

connected with its chief business. Coulson,* a loyalist merchant there, having difficulties with the Whig authorities, about the rigging and fitting for sea a "mast ship" which he had built, applied to Mowatt, commander of the royal armed ship *Canseau*, for protection, which was afforded. Subsequently, he attempted to load his vessel; but the masts and timber, which he had procured for the purpose, were taken away, and towed to places to which he dared not go to recover them. Various other acts, interfering with his design, occurred in the course of the quarrel; and the result was, that Mowatt burned the dwellings, and most of the wharves and vessels, of that busy place. "Tell the people of Falmouth," said Admiral Graves to Philip Crandall, "that unless they allow Coulson to load, I will send a ship, or ships, and beat the town down about their ears." History will bear record that this infamous threat was fulfilled to the letter.† After observing, that the lumberers of Winslow, on the Kennebec, were Whigs almost to a man, and that, being destitute of money, they voted "one hundred and twenty-five thousand shingles, and ten thousand clapboards, to purchase a town stock of ammunition," we pass to another topic.

The region of the United States, where tar is produced and exported, is now very distant from New England; but its manufacture at the North was once an object of much attention. In the narratives of the early voyagers of whom we have spoken, it will be recollected, that trees, which afforded the substances now known in commerce as *naval-stores*, are mentioned as being abundant; and such was undoubtedly the fact. Abuses in the making of tar existed at Plymouth before 1670, as in that year the town voted, that none but townsmen, whose names were recorded, should

* Coulson himself, Pazan, another merchant, Wiswall, the Episcopal clergyman, and Pote and Wyer, ship-masters, who were his friends on this emergency, all abandoned the country, and are all named in the Massachusetts proscription act of 1778, which punished the first return of loyalist refugees with transportation, and the second with death.

† In the documents of the times, this affair is called "Thompson's war." Thompson belonged to Brunswick. He came to Falmouth with a party of about fifty men. They bore a small spruce tree for a standard, and each one wore a spruce bough in his hat. But for the injudicious movements of this party, whose badges marked their calling, Falmouth might not have been given to the flames.

be allowed to use its pines for the purpose ; and that persons who violated the vote should forfeit both the tar and the raw material in their possession. In New Hampshire, where, as it seems, a company attempted to confine the manufacture to themselves, and provided a large number of trees which were destroyed by unknown hands, pines suitable for tar were protected by law, and tar itself was received, at a stipulated price, in payment of taxes. The admixture of sand and other impurities caused an act of parliament, and a call upon the Colonial authorities to coöperate in putting an end to frauds. But the subject became so much involved with the controversies that already existed between the officers of the crown and the representatives of the people, that the dishonest makers were left to pursue their evil practices. The business gradually declined, and at length was entirely suspended. It is now almost wholly confined to North Carolina. Of the 619,000 barrels of tar, pitch, turpentine, and rosin, manufactured in the United States in 1840, upwards of 593,000 barrels were made in that State.

Some account of saw-mills may now claim our attention. The English gentleman who introduced the use of mahogany, by causing a candle-box to be made of it, gave the world a great luxury ; but he who invented the saw-mill performed an act far more serviceable. A mahogany tree, when in logs, has been sold for nearly fifteen thousand dollars ;* a pine, which will produce a hundredth part of that sum, in the most distant market, is of rare size and quality ; but to the mass of mankind, it is more valuable than the other, because it is, what that is not, a necessary of life. The sawing of trees by machinery is not, probably, of remote origin. The first saw-mill of which we have any knowledge was erected at Madeira, in the year 1420 ; and we hear of another at Breslau, seven years later ; but their multiplication in

* The highest price that we have known to be paid in this country, was at about the rate of five thousand dollars for a tree in log ; the one referred to in the text was purchased for £ 3000, in England, by a celebrated pianoforte manufacturer. Of the pine, a plank nearly six feet in width, made from a tree which grew on the estate of the Duke of Gordon, is preserved in that nobleman's castle as a curiosity. In Maine, pines six feet in diameter near the ground have sometimes been found, while those of four feet diameter are not uncommon.

different parts of Europe appears to have proceeded slowly. A mill of this description was built near London, in 1633 ; but it was demolished soon afterwards, that it might not be a means of depriving the poor of employment. About a century later, a branch of the York Building Company made large purchases of pine timber, erected mills, and introduced various improvements in the manufacture and transportation of lumber. But the popular feeling against machine-saws was still strong. A saw-mill set up at Limehouse, near the year 1768, was destroyed by a mob. The first built in New England — and very likely in America — was at “Agamentico,”* in Maine, in 1623, or the year following, under the direction of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. “I sent over my son,” says the Lord Palatine, “and my nephew, Capt. William Gorges, who had been my lieutenant in the fort of Plymouth, with some other craftsmen, for the building of houses and erecting of saw-mills.” The next, probably, were on the Piscataqua, as the settlers there had one or more in motion as early as 1630 ; at which time, there were no grist-mills, and the lumberers procured their bread-stuffs prepared for baking, either from England or Virginia. The first mill in Massachusetts seems to have been that on the Neponset, in Dorchester, in 1633 ; but whether it was built for grinding or sawing cannot be ascertained. The earliest for sawing, in the colony of Plymouth, we suppose to have been on the Herring brook, Scituate, erected in 1656, and destroyed twenty years afterwards by the Indians. There was one on the Saco, as soon as the year 1653, and one on Mill river, Taunton, six years afterwards. By the year 1681, there was a second in Plymouth Colony, at Swansea ; and in 1685, as many as four were in operation at Cape Porpoise, Maine. Of those in Maine at more recent dates, we may mention mills on the Androscoggin, at Brunswick, in 1716 ; at Damariscotta, under grants from the hated Dunbar, in 1730 ; a mill at Bucksport, on the Penobscot, in 1764 ; and several on the different branches of the Machias, before the capture of the *Margranetto*, in 1775.†

* The ancient name of York.

† The *first* on the Machias was undoubtedly as early as 1763, and within a year after the first grant of land and mill-sites east of the Penobscot.

The curious terms annexed to "libertie" to make boards and planks by water power, in the olden time, are well worth a moment's attention. In the grant of the "townsmen of Saco" to Roger Spencer, it was stipulated, that he should build his mill within a year, that all the "townsmen should have bordes twelve pence in a hundred cheaper than any stranger," and that the townsmen who would "worke" in erecting the mill "as cheap as a stranger," should have the preference. In a subsequent grant to another person, much the same conditions are imposed, and the further one, that the grantee should buy his provisions of townsmen at "price current," rather than of others. The conditions required by the people of Scituate, in good "old Plymouth," we will give as they stand upon the record.

"At a full town meeting of the town of Scituate, November 10th, 1656, free liberty was this day granted to any man or men of the town to set up a saw-mill upon the third herring brook, as near the North River as conveniently it may be, on these conditions, namely. That in case any of the townsmen do bring any timber into the mill to be sawed, the owners of the mill shall saw it, whether it be for boards or plank, before they saw any of their own timber, and they are to have the one half for sawing of the other half. And in case any man of the town, that doth not bring any timber to the mill to be sawed, shall want any boards for his own particular use, the owner of the mill shall sell him boards for his own use, so many as he shall need, for the country pay, at three shillings and six pence an hundred inch sawn; but in case the men of the town do not supply the mill with timber to keep it at work, the owners of the mill shall have liberty to make use of any timber upon the common to saw for their benefit. The said saw-mill to be built within three months from this date; otherwise, this order to be void."

At Taunton, on the proposal to erect a mill there, liberty was given on the condition that it "be not found hurtful to the grist-mill." At Cape Porpoise, a town meeting gave the right to set up a saw, provided it was done "within sixteen months, unless prevented by war"; and the applicant furnished his townsmen with lumber for their own use, at "twelve pence the hundred under price current." Another person, at the same place, was required to pay "forty shillings rent as a

tax to support Fort Loyal, at Falmouth'' ; and a third had his request granted, by paying "a yearly rent of fifty shillings," and allowing "the inhabitants to saw their own boards at the halves."

A word or two of some of the prominent mill owners of Maine, and we conclude our ante-revolutionary memoranda. Major William Phillips, of Boston, removed to the Saco about the year 1660, and became a speculator in timber lands, lumberer, and mill proprietor. John Alden — son of the *Mayflower* pilgrim of the same name, and of the arch Priscilla Mullen, whom Miles Standish desired for a wife — married his daughter, passed some time at Saco, and was interested in similar adventures. Another large land and mill owner on the same river was Sir William Pepperell, who commanded the expedition against Louisbourg, and was the only Baronet of New England birth during the whole of our Colonial history. His usual dress, we are told, was of scarlet cloth trimmed with gold lace ; those who are acquainted with the peculiarities of the rough men with whom his business required him to mingle, can easily fancy their queer sayings, at seeing one of as humble origin as themselves thus richly appareled.*

At the Damariscotta, was William Vaughan, a son of a lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, and, as lieutenant-colonel, associated with Sir William in the enterprise just referred to, and one of the claimants of the honor of designing it. Vaughan's title to lands and mill-sites was derived from the surveyor-general, Dunbar. Vaughan was a bold projector, and brave, perhaps to rashness. He died in England, while urging his claims for services in the war of 1745.

We come now to a brief consideration of the productions of the forests of the United States at the present time. First, however, we will look for a moment at the official statistics of the year 1810. From these, it appears that there were in the States and Territories of the Union, at that time, 2,526 common saw-mills, which manufactured 93,974,640 feet of lumber, of the value of \$1,068,205. But these returns, like many public documents since published, are not worth the cost of folding and stitching them. From these official "Tabular Statements of the several branches of

* Sir William's father was a fisherman.

American Manufactures," it would seem, that there were neither saw-mills nor a manufacture of lumber in what was then the District of Maine, and none in the States of New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut ; whereas, all of them were engaged in the business, and some of them extensively. Of these 2,526 mills, 1,995 are returned as being in Pennsylvania ; that is, that State had nearly four fifths of all that were in the United States. The number set down as being in Massachusetts is just 150 ; but the whole are returned as from Berkshire and Hampshire counties. Maine, at the separation, in 1820, we know, contained 746 mills for the cutting of lumber, and must have had full half that number in 1810 ; and, if Pennsylvania and two counties in Massachusetts really had the number stated, there must have been, we venture to estimate, at least 6,000 in the United States ; and the value of the lumber was \$ 3,000,000, instead of \$ 1,000,000.

The number of saw-mills in the Union, in 1840, as appears from official sources, was 31,650, of which more than one sixth were in New England ; and upwards of half in the States of New York, (6,356) Pennsylvania, (5,389) Ohio, (2,883) and Virginia, (1,987.) There were 1,381 in Maine, 1,252 in Massachusetts, 1081 in Vermont, 959 in New Hampshire, 673 in Connecticut, and 123 in Rhode Island. If we take counties, we shall find that, while the value of lumber manufactured in Penobscot was much the greatest, that county, in the number of mills, ranked considerably lower than several others. *

The value of lumber produced in all the States was \$ 12,943,507, of three States afforded upwards of half ; namely, New York, \$ 3,891,302 ; Maine, \$ 1,808,683 ; and Pennsylvania, \$ 1,150,220. From this, it appears, that though Maine ranks fifth in the number of mills, she stands next to New York, and second in the Union, in point of manufacturing trees into the several marketable shapes. In the value of lumber produced, Delaware was lowest, the value having been but \$ 5,562.

* Thus :

County.	No. of Mills.	Value of Lumber.	County.	No. of Mills.	Value of Lumber.
Penobscot, Me.,	242	\$ 668,701	Essex, N. Y.,	266	\$ 443,242
Greene, Penn.,	670	value not stated.	Tioga, N. Y.,	259	289,563
Worcester, Mass.,	320	109,052	Oneida, N. Y.,	248	233,602
Steuben, N. Y.,	267	224,922			

The whole quantity of wood sold was 5,088,891 cords. Of this, New York sold about one fifth ; Virginia, nearly one twelfth ; New Jersey, one fifteenth ; the States of Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky, about one eighteenth each ; and Maine, one twenty-fourth. *

Of lumber-yards, there were 1,793 ; of which, nearly one fourth were in New York, over one sixth in Pennsylvania ; one thirteenth in Massachusetts ; and almost one fifteenth in Louisiana, — or more than half in these four States. There were sixty-one in the city of New York, sixty in Philadelphia, thirty-four in Boston, and thirty-two in New Orleans.

Of productions of the forest other than those already named, there were manufactured 619,106 barrels of the different resinous substances known as *naval stores*, and 15,935 tons of pot and pearl ashes. Of skins and furs, the value was \$ 1,065,869 ; and of ginseng and “ non-enumerated ” articles, \$ 526,580. Of the sugar made from the maple tree, the exact number of pounds cannot, perhaps, be ascertained. The quantity of maple sugar manufactured in 1810, according to the official tables for that year, was 9,665,108 pounds. From the errors apparent in these tables, it is very probable, that the number of pounds returned fell short of what was really manufactured at that period ; and that the quantity was considerably more than doubled in thirty years is beyond doubt. That the whole demand in the country for sugar for its own consumption can be supplied from the maple is, we suppose, susceptible of the clearest proof. The season for making forest sugar is in February and March, when farmers are not specially busy ; when, indeed, the preparation of fencing stuff and fuel is usually their only employment ; and the amount earned in this way is almost to be called a clear gain to them. There need be no fear, that the article cannot be produced dry and white enough for the most fastidious eye and taste ; since it is known, that Washington made use of the refined maple sugar, during his presidency, even when he entertained foreign visitors ; and that large quantities of the common brown

* Our present terms of intercourse with the British Colonies operate injuriously upon Maine. We have seen it stated, for instance, that while only two cargoes of wood went from that State to Gloucester, Massachusetts, one hundred and fifteen cargoes went thither in British Colonial vessels. Such vessels, *we know*, supply other Northern ports to a considerable extent.

sort have been exhibited, within a few years, equal in grain, flavor, and other desirable qualities, to the imported sugars made from the cane.

The aggregate value of the different articles produced from the forest in 1840, if the market prices be affixed to those articles of which the quantities only are given, was thirty millions of dollars. That year, it will be admitted, was one of unusual depression, and cannot be taken as the basis for an average of years. And we are satisfied, moreover, that the official papers of that year do not make the value as great as it really was ; and that one sixth may be safely added. If, now, we add another sixth, to bring up the depression of 1840 to a standard year, we shall have, as the aggregate, forty millions of dollars, instead of thirty ; and this, we cannot but think, will still be somewhat too low.* The value of the exports from the forests, from 1830 to 1842, both years included, a period of thirteen years, was upwards of sixty-five and three quarters millions of dollars ; being an average of more than five millions annually. The smallest amount was in 1830, when it was short of four and a quarter millions ; and the greatest in 1841, when it reached six and a quarter millions.

Among the several ports for receiving and shipping lumber, Bangor is to be regarded, we think, as the most considerable in the Union. Well informed persons of that city estimate the amount which passed through the hands of its merchants, in 1843, at \$ 2,000,000. With all deference to their opinions, we must still doubt, whether it was so much by a quarter of a million ; or, if it were, whether a million and a half of dollars be not the maximum, on an average of years. We should estimate the value of lumber manufactured in other parts of Maine as follows : Washington county, three quarters of a million ; Kennebec, half a million ;

* One or two facts will sustain this opinion. The value of the lumber produced in Penobscot county, in 1840, according to the returns, was short of \$ 700,000. The writer saw, at Bangor, at one time, in 1843, 188 vessels, which, as it was estimated by good judges, would carry off 14,000,000 feet of lumber, worth \$ 200,000, or more than two sevenths of the value returned for the whole year 1840. Again : lumber and other articles from the forest, of the value of \$ 1,439,592, were left at West Troy, from the Erie and Lake Champlain Canals, in 1842, while the amount for 1843 was \$ 2,964,061, or more than double. Like increase elsewhere would produce an aggregate far greater than we have estimated.

Somerset, Waldo, and York, one fifth of a million each ; Hancock, Lincoln, and Cumberland, one tenth of a million each ; and the remaining counties at one tenth of a million more ;—making the entire sum for the State, two and three quarters millions of dollars. Although these estimates make up an amount nearly a million above the value according to the returns in 1840, we consider them not too high. But whatever the exact yearly havoc in her woods may be, Maine should take heed, lest the pine tree of her escutcheon do not become, like the same device on the first money coined by her parent State, an emblem of her departed, rather than of her present, glory and pride.

As yet, our facts and calculations apply exclusively to values derived from commodities sent to market. If we add the countless number of trees that, in the several States and Territories, are annually cut down, but not sold ; which are used on farms for fires and fences ; which are felled by settlers and burnt on the spot ; which are torn up by tempests, and decay where they fall ; and which are destroyed by accidental conflagrations, — we shall find, that an alarming demand is made upon our woods, and that the warning which closed the last paragraph is not without force, if extended to all the States of the Union. Indeed, we fear that, like the wronged men who were their original lords, native American forests, at no very distant day, will be but rarely seen.

The experience of the Old World is full of admonition, and should not be lost upon us. The mountains of Lebanon, to which Solomon sent his “fourscore thousand hewers,” have been long stripped of their beautiful “cedars.” The period is not very remote since pines were so abundant in Great Britain, that a woodman could procure the right to use a single axe in cutting them down, for less than one dollar a year ; and, not two centuries and a half ago, wood was the common fuel in most parts of England. In Queen Elizabeth’s time, it is said that Spain sent over a special ambassador, charged with the duty of procuring, by negotiation or treachery, the destruction of oak trees in the celebrated forest of Dean. However this may be, the oaks disappeared by improvidence during the civil wars. Within one hundred and fifty years, a considerable part of the elevated regions of the north of Ireland was covered with pines, of which hardly a vestige now remains. A forest set

apart for the royal navy contained, at the end of a century, only one tenth part of the timber which the officers in the care of it reported at its commencement ; nor was alarm felt, nor means taken to replant it, until the quantity was still less. In Europe generally, at the present time, it is believed that wood-lands are diminishing with great rapidity. It is supposed, that in Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, one third of the surface is still covered with forests of more or less value ; but the proportion in the other principal countries is not so large. In France, we have certain knowledge, that immense inroads are made on the woods from year to year, because she cuts from her forests not only timber, but nearly all her fuel. Of the Northern nations, it is necessary only to remark, that they are the makers of tar and providers of timber for England, and such other powers as have become importers of the articles once abundant at home.

That in America, — a country of stumps and newly cleared lands, — apprehensions should be expressed, as to our capability of furnishing ourselves with timber in all coming time, will excite a smile on the faces of many. Be it so. John Jay, a man as wise as the wisest, and as good as the best, thus wrote to Washington, more than fifty years ago. “ There is some reason to apprehend that masts and ship-timber will, as cultivation advances, become scarce, unless some measures be taken to prevent their waste, or provide for the preservation of a sufficient fund of both.” And this passage has the more weight, since it occurs in a letter devoted to the suggestion of measures necessary to be brought forward for the good of the country. The usual reasons for forcing timber into market are, that fires run through it, and that trespassers plunder it. We answer, that the man who would destroy his house that it might not be burned, or waste his money that it might not be stolen, would hardly be deemed wise.

We return to the woods of Maine, which yet remain her property and that of Massachusetts. The “ mast-trees,” which within three generations caused such heated contentions, are gone ; not one ever seen by a surveyor-general of the king now remains. The lower waters of every considerable river are abandoned. But the sound of the *logger's* axe can still be heard from the memorable “ highlands di-

viding the waters." A century in the history of a nation is but a brief space, for it scarcely marks the extreme duration of human life. But he who visits the lands lying along the tributaries of the St. John, a hundred years hence, will probably see them despoiled of their wealth. That event will doubtless occur, sooner or later ; legislation can hasten, or retard it. That Maine ought to endeavour to postpone it, we fully believe ; the interests of Massachusetts may require another policy ; she will judge. The treaty of Washington has given rights and guaranties, which obviously demand some action on the part of both. That instrument opens a way to and from the *last great forest of New England* ; and whether the facilities it provides for transportation and finding a market should induce increased or diminished alienation of soil and timber, is a question which deserves the most profound consideration. Those who administer the affairs of Maine ought, as we venture to say, to reason thus : "*Our* lands are at home, and we can guard them ; they are of immense worth, let us manage them wisely, that something of what was inherited from our fathers may descend to our children ; the treaty which has given us free access to them can never expire ; the waters which flow from them will bear their pines to the sea ages hence as well as now ; the lapse of years will only add to their value ; the vast quantity of lumber now thrown into market does but overstock it, and rob our people of the rewards of their skill and labor. Let us then dispose of these our remaining wood-lands sparingly. As for our tillage lands, if need be, we will give free deeds of them to promote settlements, and to prevent our young men from becoming victims of agues and intermittents at the West."

In the Report of Mr. Coffin, named at the head of this article, the whole matter of the treaty at Washington, which pertains to our subject, is ably and clearly stated. We give the passage entire. That convention provides, that

"In order to promote the interests, and encourage the industry, of all the inhabitants of the countries watered by the river St. John and its tributaries — whether living within the State of Maine or the Province of New Brunswick, — it is agreed that where, by the provisions of the present treaty, the river St. John is declared to be the line of boundary, the navigation of said river shall be free and open to both parties, and shall in no

way be obstructed by either ; that all the produce of the forest in logs, lumber, timber, boards, staves, or shingles,—or of agriculture, not being manufactured, or grown on any of those parts of the State of Maine watered by the river St. John or by its tributaries, of which fact reasonable evidence shall, if required, be produced,—shall have free access into and through the said river and its tributaries, having their source within the State of Maine, to and from the seaport at the mouth of the said river, either by boats, rafts, or other conveyance, that, when within the Province of New Brunswick, the said produce shall be dealt with as if it were the produce of said province, &c. &c.

“The largest portion of the territory on the upper St. John, or more properly speaking, the most valuable portion of said territory, is the joint property of this Commonwealth and the State of Maine, and in its present uncultivated situation the value principally consists in its growth and abundance of pine timber, which, according to the provision contained in the article of the treaty here recited, can be hauled and floated to the market at the city of St. John, and from thence can be shipped in British vessels to Europe or the West Indies. But as the freight on timber to foreign ports is of necessity very high on account of its bulk, no timber, except it be large and sound, can be shipped without great loss. Owing to this fact, the operators in the woods will not cut any but the largest, soundest, and best trees, if they can avoid it. In the course of the lumbering business, however, in consequence of hidden defects and other causes not easily obviated, a considerable amount of unsound and refuse timber must necessarily find its way to the city of St. John, and from the fact before stated, not being wanted, it is nearly worthless. So far therefore as regards the best quality of timber, the provisions of said treaty operates greatly to our advantage ; but as regards the coarse, or defective and refuse qualities, it offers no inducement, as there is no market that will remunerate the operator for its removal, except it be admitted into the States free of duty. Under the existing tariff of the United States, lumber is subjected to a duty of twenty *per centum ad valorem*, which amounts to a prohibition of its being brought here.

“The value of that territory to the States of Maine and Massachusetts would be greatly enhanced, if the pine lumber from St. John river was admitted into our ports free of duty,—for in that case, a large amount of timber now standing in the forests of Maine could be removed to a valuable market, and would immediately increase the demand for timber and soil. The treasury of the United States can never be benefited by exacting a duty, as nothing of the lumber kind can afford to pay even

a small charge. It appears to me therefore, that the request would be reasonable, and no more than exact justice, that we should have a right secured to us of bringing our own produce from our own soil, without being subject to any exaction whatever, even if in its transit it necessarily passes through a foreign territory. It is true, if the timber is hewn in the State of Maine, and brought to our ports in that shape without alteration, no duties are required; but to bring lumber in that cumbersome form, would be more expensive than even the required duty. The grand falls on the St. John, and the falls at the mouth of the Aroostook river, both being within the limits of New Brunswick, the timber must of necessity be taken into the British province before it can be manufactured into boards, &c.

“I understand, that some individuals having an interest in that region are about to petition Congress, praying that pine lumber owned by American citizens, cut on American soil, and brought in American vessels, may be admitted free of duty. It seems to me the interest in this question to this Commonwealth and the State of Maine is of sufficient magnitude to induce some effort on our part for the accomplishment of the same object.”

These remarks look to immediate and rapid sales, and indicate the means necessary for their accomplishment with the greatest profit. Mr. Coffin is an officer of so much experience and faithfulness, and his opinions are entitled to such respect, that we shall not attempt to show the injurious effect upon the Commonwealth of a speedy disposal of her property in the regions to which he here invites the attention of her legislature. That such a course on the part of Maine would be unwise, we have already briefly urged, and the point need be pressed no further. With regard, however, to the suggestion contained in the last paragraph here quoted, some knowledge of the course of business near the eastern frontier causes us to fear, that if this kind of timber were admitted into the United States on the terms proposed, there might be facilities for the introduction of timber from trees that actually grew in New Brunswick. Great strictness in investigating the proof of origin would, doubtless, check irregularities; but we are not quite satisfied, that the most rigid course which could be devised or enforced, would entirely prevent them. Timber which proves “unsound and refuse” is cut on both sides of the line, and as is the case with every other commodity, will be sent to the best market, when that market is accessible by statutory provis-

ions or ingenious devices. Nor would frauds be confined to the "coarse, or defective and refuse" kinds; since choice lots are sometimes, under a duty, brought to our ports for special purposes; and in the changes of trade, the merchantable timber, when the price is depressed in England, might be shipped to the United States to good advantage. Though it may be extremely difficult to ascertain the identity of timber and masts coming from the upper St. John to the sea, we would not discourage the attempt. We seek only to protect our own lumberers from their Colonial competitors. British Colonists interfere quite enough already with Northern industry; and before yielding them more, we would have full equivalents in hand, certain, and not contingent, realities, and not "boons."

We are now prepared to conduct our readers "out of the woods"; and in the spirit of the adage, we will endeavour to make them go smilingly. With a rapid sketch of the lumberer as he was, and as he is, we will conclude. It is of the man of work, and not of the great *operator*, of whom we speak; and between the two there is a wide difference. Our subject is known by various names. In the forest, he is a *logger*; on the stream, he is a *river-driver*; in the mill, he is a *sawyer* or *mill-man*; between the mill and the place of loading a vessel, he is a *raftsman*; and when on board ship, he is a *coaster*. Though he sometimes confines himself to one of these callings, he occasionally makes himself a proficient in all. But wherever found, he was often a wild, improvident, and thoughtless fellow. Within a few years, he has taken the "pledge," and now he saves his wages. You may see him now with a wife, a home, a farm, and a stock of cattle; or, if he has them not, they are all embraced in his plans, and all within his reach. He was an inveterate coveter of *shingle-ribs* and mast-trees, and cared but little who owned them, if sharp eyes were not upon him. To the mortal hate he bore to the king's guardians of the woods, we have already alluded; and we may add, that it was a long time before he could forget, that land agents were their successors. Nor is trespassing a very grave offence in his estimation, even now; he will often plunder, just to show his adroitness in outwitting those who are set to watch him. As he wiles away a period of stormy weather in his camp, he will relate some wonderful exploits, which, in other

days, he devised or aided to execute. He had, too, a way of seeming honesty, which, to those who were inexperienced in his manœuvres, lulled all suspicion. When he cut the timber of another person under a permit, and engaged to pay the owner *stumpage* by the thousand feet, the *sealer* * was allowed to see the logs lying upon the ice in the stream, measured them, and went his way. Apparently all was right ; but the *logger* had commenced hauling trees to the stream when the ice was thin, and, if rolled heavily from the bank, the logs would break through it ; and he had continued this course until more timber was beneath the ice than above it. But who could impeach his integrity, since the proprietor's own *sealer* came to the *rolling-tier*,† and saw for himself, and took account, without let or hindrance ? If the half of his logs were invisible, how could *he* help it ? This was but one among many of his old devices.

He was wont to be a liberal provider for himself and those who went with him for a winter's work in the woods ; but not always for those dependent upon him at home. " I will get my supplies now," said an old man to his merchant, some thirty years ago. " What will you have ? " " Well, I hardly know ; but as I shall come in by and by, I will only just take a few things to stand us a spell. We are but eight hands, all told, and don't need much. A barrel of rum, another of molasses, three barrels of pork, and six of flour, and that meal bag full of tea, with the corn I have already got for the oxen, will do to begin with." The tea was weighed and poured into " that meal bag," and, provided with all that he asked for, he departed ; but, as may be supposed, people who ate and drank at this rate could find little time for chopping and hauling ; and the merchant's books have not been balanced, we opine, to this day.

Nor, in other days, was he exact in business, or scrupulous in *log-marks* ; so that the old saying, that " one gang of *loggers* and a saw-mill will support a lawyer," was not entirely destitute of truth. But as we have said, he is a changed man now, both in his deeds and dress. As for the latter, you may see him in the glazed hat, the upper and

* Surveyor.

† Place at the stream-end of his road, which he prepares in order to get his logs from the land upon the ice.

lower oil-cloth garments, and "proper strong boots" of the fisherman; rather than in the linsey-woolsey of the family-loom and dye-pot, with cap and buskins of the same, which he wore in the olden time. His manners, his faults, and his vices show him to be a rough man. But he has ever been ready at the first tap of the drum to enlist in the service of his country. He went with Phips, who had been his companion in the woods; and with Pepperell, his own mill-owner. He was on the battle grounds of the Revolution, and the ploughman finds his bones at Plattsburg and Bridgewater.

As for the master of the *lumber-coaster*, he was once neither a landsman nor seaman; and his men had the same amphibious character. Twenty-five years ago, they sailed in almost any vessel, and on almost any terms. He dodged along shore, and had a rule to pass no harbour after meridian, and not to leave one until past twelve o'clock at night. He nailed a horse-shoe on his mainmast, and would look well to its safety whenever he was off Salem. The superscription of the village attorney could be seen upon letters addressed to him, in almost every tavern or store of the town where he lived. He took passengers at "nine shillings for going, and two and three-pence a day for grub"; and huddled them, male and female, into a cabin without state-rooms, partitions, or even curtains to the berths. His cook was a never washed, never combed boy, who wore his father's trousers and nobody's shoes; and was proud of the mysteries of making bread by mixing Indian meal with water, and stirring them up with a black iron spoon; of mincing fish with potatoes and warming them with pork fat; and of making, for a treat on Sunday, a salt meat soup. Those who paid "for going and for grub" were taxed a pint or a quart of "the West India," for every harbour new to them between the port of departure and destination, and were put under liberal contribution for the gallons that were now and then provided in order "to raise a fair wind."

But such men, such vessels, and such customs have well-nigh passed away. The coaster now owns a part of his vessel, and is frequently the ship's husband. He is a good navigator, and ventures out at sea with the boldest; makes passages as quick as the quickest; and instead of being a lounge about home in the winter months, as he was formerly, may be found "freighting" at the South, or making

voyages to foreign countries. He is seldom in debt. His house is well painted and carpeted, and every thing is comfortable and in good repair. His children are at academies or colleges, and he is a prudent, moral, and temperate man ; and could we induce him to leave off whittling shingles, and the immoderate use of tobacco, he is so gentlemanly, that he might sometimes be mistaken for the captain of " a New York liner."

ART. IV.—1. *Various Papers on Meteorology, and the Laws of Storms*, by W. C. REDFIELD. American Journal of Science and Arts, Vols. XX, XXV, XXVIII, XXXI, XXXIII. Jamieson's Edinburgh Journal for February and April, 1838. Naval Magazine, Vol. I. English Nautical Magazine, 1839. Journal of the Franklin Institute, Vol. XIX. Blunt's Coast Pilot, 12th and 13th Editions.

2. *An Attempt to develop the Law of Storms by Means of Facts, arranged according to Place and Time, and hence to point out a Cause for the Variable Winds, with a View to practical Use in Navigation.* Illustrated by Charts and Wood Cuts. 2d Edition, with Additions. By LIEUT. COLONEL W. REID, C. B., F. R. S., (of the Royal Engineers.) London. 8vo.
3. *The Philosophy of Storms.* By JAMES P. ESPY, A. M., Member of the American Philosophical Society, and Corresponding Member of the National Institute, Washington. Boston : 1841. 8vo.
4. *On the Storm which was experienced throughout the United States about the 20th of December, 1836.* By ELIAS LOOMIS, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Western Reserve College. Philadelphia : Phil. Trans., Vol. VII., New Series.

ABOUT a century ago, Dr. Franklin made preparations to observe an eclipse of the moon at Philadelphia. The execution of his purpose was prevented by a storm from the north and east, which obscured the sky a short time before the moon passed into the earth's shadow. He learned after-